

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4237

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4131

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP (ALBERT, CARL), RO, PFOR

SUBJECT: CODEL ALBERT MEETING WITH PRESIDENT AND MRS.
CEAUSESCU

SUMMARY: CODEL ALBERT'S TWO HOUR LONG MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT AND MRS. CEAUSESCU AT THEIR BLACK SEA VILLA
TOUCHED ON DISARMAMENT, TRADE AND CREDITS, CSCE AND THE
MIDDLE EAST WITH CEAUSESCU PRESENTING STANDARD ROMANIAN
POSITION ON THESE SUBJECTS AND MAKING EXPECTED PITCH FOR
CONCESSIONAL CREDITS TO HELP DEVELOP ROMANIAN AGRICULTURE.
GENERAL THEME OF MEETING WAS NEED FOR FURTHER TRADE AND
COOPERATION BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES TO FOLLOW IN WAKE OF
FIRM FOUNDATION NOW ESTABLISHED BY MFN APPROVAL.
END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY REPORT OF AUGUST 15 MEETING (FROM
1700 TO 1905) OF CODEL ALBERT (PLUS WIVES) WITH PRESIDENT
AND MRS. CEAUSESCU AT THE PRESIDENT'S NEPTUNE VILLA ON THE
BLACK SEA COAST. ADDITIONAL ROMANIAN ATTENDEES WERE PRIME
MINISTER MANEA MANESCU, GNA PRESIDENT NICOLAE GIOSAN,
FOREIGN MINISTER GEORGE MACOVESCU, RCP PARTY SECRETARIES
EMIL BOBU, STEFAN ANDREI, AND IOSIF UGLAR, DEPUTY PRIME
MINISTER EMIL DRAGANESCU, POLITICAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MEMBER LEONTE RAUTU, CONSTANTA FIRST SECRETARY VASILE
VILCU, AND CC MEMBER IOAN POP D. POPA (CEAUSESCU'S
PERSONAL PHYSICIAN). THE EMBASSY HAS REQUESTED A
TRANSCRIPT OF THE MEETING WHICH WE WILL FORWARD, WHEN
AND IF RECEIVED.

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2. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS: PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU WELCOMED

THE CODEL AND NOTED THAT THIS FIRST OFFICIAL PARLIAMENTARY VISIT, ALTHOUGH A SHORT ONE, ACQUIRED EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANCE COMING ONLY MONTH AFTER GRANTING OF MFN ("ABOUT WHICH SO MANY THINGS HAVE BEEN SAID IN THE PAST") AND SO SOON AFTER PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS A SIGN OF NEW POST-CSCE SPIRIT IN EUROPE. CEAUSESCU SAW MFN AS A GOOD BASIS FOR FUTURE COOPERATION, NOT ONLY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD, BUT ALSO IN OTHER AREAS.

3. SPEAKER ALBERT RECALLED THAT PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU HAD PERSONALLY EXTENDED THE INVITATION FOR THIS VISIT OVER TWO YEARS AGO AND THAT THE INVITATION WAS INDICATIVE OF THE ROMANIAN DESIRE TO BUILD FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH IT WAS PARTLY COINCIDENCE THAT THE CODEL HAD ARRIVED SO SOON AFTER MFN VOTE, THE CONGRESSIONAL DEBATES ON THAT SUBJECT HAD SHOWN THE NEED FOR EVEN MORE COOPERATION AND COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AS BEFITTING THEIR FRANK AND OPEN RELATIONSHIP. THE SPEAKER COMMENTED ON ROMANIA'S LATIN ORIGINS AND EXPRESSED REGRET AT THE COUNTRY'S RECENT FLOOD LOSSES. HE SAID THAT THE CODEL WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS ANY SUBJECT AND NOTED THAT EACH COUNTRY HAD MUCH TO OFFER THE OTHER, POINTING OUT THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO MUST BE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL OR THEY WON'T BE BENEFICIAL AT ALL. THE SPEAKER NOTED ROMANIA'S TREMENDOUS NATURAL RESOURCE BASE AND SINGLED OUT PETROLEUM AS ONE OF THE COUNTRY'S MOST VALUABLE RESOURCES AND AN AREA WHERE FURTHER US-ROMANIAN COOPERATION MIGHT TAKE PLACE. HE ALSO REMARKED ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PEOPLE TO PEOPLE DIPLOMACY AND, IN THIS CONNECTION, ON THE EXCELLENT TOURIST FACILITIES WHICH EXISTED ALONG THE BLACK SEA COAST. HE CONCLUDED BY EMPHASIZING THAT AS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, THE LAW-MAKING AUTHORITY OF THE NATION, THE CODEL WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS ANY SUBJECT OR PROBLEM WHICH MIGHT BE RAISED. THE SPEAKER THEN CALLED ON REPRESENTATIVE PRICE TO OPEN THE DISCUSSIONS WITH A STATEMENT ON DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL.

4. DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL. MR. PRICE NOTED THAT THE TWO GREAT POWERS WERE NOW MAKING A SERIOUS EFFORT TO DISCUSS AND FIND SOLUTIONS TO MANY OF THE ARMS CONTROL

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AND DISARMEMENT PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD. HE EXPRESSED OPTIMISM CONCERNING FUTURE PROGRESS IN SALT AND MBFR, AND IN OTHER DISARMEMENT NEGOTIATIONS ELSEWHERE.

5. CEAUSESCU REPLIED BY NOTING THE IMPORTANCE WHICH ROMANIA ATTACHED TO ITS OWN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE FACT THAT 33 PERCENT ("AND SOMETIMES EVEN MORE") WAS REINVESTED IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. HOWEVER, IN ORDER FOR EACH COUNTRY

TO BE ABLE TO CONDUCT ITS OWN ECONOMIC POLICY, THERE WAS A NEED FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER, DISARMEMENT AND A JUST AND LASTING PEACE. STATING HIS INTENTION TO BE FRANK, CEAUSESCU SAID THAT ROMANIA DID NOT SHARE THE OPTIMISM EXPRESSED BY MR. PRICE. THE ARMS RACE HAD INTENSIFIED AND MILITARY EXPENDITURES HAD INCREASED. ROMANIA APPRECIATED ACCORDS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION "IN CERTAIN FIELDS", BUT ITS GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT NO DISARMAMENT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, ONLY AN ARTIFICIAL CEILING PLACED ON SOME AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT, AS IN THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD. IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD, NPT HAD NOT PRODUCED A HALT TO THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR ARMS NOR TO THEIR BEING STATIONED ON FOREIGN SOIL. THE SAME OVERLY OPTIMISTIC ATMOSPHERE THAT HAD SO OFTEN CHARACTERIZED THE HELSINKI SUMMIT AND THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENERAL, ACCORDING TO CEAUSESCU, WAS ALSO AT WORK TODAY IN THE DISARMAMENT FIELD. THE FACT OF THE MATTER WAS THAT EUROPE HAS ONE OF THE HIGHEST CONCENTRATIONS OF WEAPONS AND TROOPS IN THE WORLD. IF THEY DO NOT INCLUDE OTHER STATES, U.S.-SOVIET ACCORDS ARE ILLUSORY, FOR NEW NUCLEAR STATES WILL COME INTO BEING IN THE FUTURE. THE PROBLEM CANNOT BE SOLVED BY THE U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION ALONE, CEAUSESCU EMPHASIZED.

6. MR. PRICE PORTED OUT THAT NPT HAD BEEN GENERALLY SUCCESSFUL WITH REGARD TO THOSE STATES WHICH WERE SIGNATORIES. HE AGREED THAT THE DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD INCLUDE A GREATER NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, BUT ONE MUST BEGIN SOMEWHERE, AND A U.S.-SOVIET ACCORD WAS A GOOD PLACE TO START. MR. PRICE ALSO URGED THAXUANY STATES WHO SIGNED DISARMEMENT ACCORDS BE PREPARED TO HONOR THEM.

7. CEAUSESCU AGREED THAT STATES SIGNING AGREEMENTS SHOULD ABIDE BY THEM, BUT COULD NOT AGREE THAT U.S.-SOVIET ACCORD UNCLASSIFIED

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CONTRIBUTED TO THE GOAL OF DISARMAMENT. HE CAUTIONED THAT IF MORE PROGRESS WAS NOT MADE SOON, SOME NPT SIGNATORIES MIGHT REVOKE THEIR AGREEMENT. HE ADDED THAT WE MUST TAKE REALITY AS IT IS AND PRESENT REALITY IS THAT SEVERAL NUCLEAR STATES ALREADY POSSESS MORE NUCLEAR WEAPONS THAN ARE NEEDED TO WIPE OUT THE 140 NATIONS OF THE WORLD (HIS ESTIMATE WAS 10 WEAPONS PER COUNTRY, OR 1,400 NUCLEAR WEAPONS).

8. SPEAKER ALBERT ALSO AGREED THAT MORE STATES SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THOUGHT THIS WOULD REMAIN A MATTER FOR THE FUTURE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE DISCUSSION TURN TO THE SUBJECT OF TRADE AND CREDITS.

9. CEAUSESCU SAID HE WANTED TO SPEAK A FEW MORE WORDS ON DISARMAMENT. HE CAUTIONED THAT HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT

THERE MAY COME A MOMENT AFTER WHICH THE SOLUTION OF A PARTICULAR PROBLEM BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE. HE THEN NOTED THAT THE U.S. AND USSR CONTINUE TO STATION NUCLEAR WEAPONS ABROAD. HE ASKED RHETORICALLY WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THESE WEAPONS WERE SEIZED BY THE COUNTRY IN WHICH THEY WERE STATIONED: THEN THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR STATES WOULD

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MULTIPLY OVERNIGHT. HE URGED THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS BE WITHDRAWN FROM ALL FOREIGN STATES, AND ALSO CALLED FOR MEASURES TO DEAL WITH CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, WHICH CAN BE PRODUCED MORE CHEAPLY AND PLENTIFULLY. HE CALLED DISARMAMENT AN URGENT GOAL AND CHARACTERIZED THE PROPOSED REDUCTION OF U.S.-SOVIET TROOPS BEING DISCUSSED AT MBFR AS MEANINGLESS SINCE SUCH A REDUCTION COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY SIMPLE REORGANIZATION.

10. TRADE AND CREDITS. CEAUSESCU FELT THAT MFN NOW PROVIDED A GOOD BASIS FROM WHICH TO GO FORWARD. REFERRING TO THE IMPLICATIONS FOR WORLD-WIDE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS OF A 10 PERCENT CUT IN U.S. MILITARY EXPENDITURES WHICH WOULD FREE BILLIONS OF DOLLARS HE HOPED FOR FURTHER PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. WITH RESPECT TO CREDITS, CEAUSESCU SAID THAT ROMANIA WAS INTERESTED IN PROJECTS WHICH WOULD FURTHER ITS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND ASSIST FLOOD CONTROL. HE ASKED IF THE U.S. CONGRESS WOULD BE WILLING TO SUPPORT THE GRANTING OF CREDITS, ON CONCESSIONARY TERMS, IN THIS AREA.

11. BEFORE ADDRESSING THE SPECIFIC QUESTION, MR. MICHEL NOTED THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD BE DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF A CERTAIN ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF SOME IN THE UNITED STATES

TOWARDS WHAT ARE CONSIDERED SATELLITE STATES OF THE SOVIET UNION, E.G., POLAND, HUNGARY, ROMANIA, ETC. AND ASKED CEAUSESCU'S COMMENTS.

12. CEAUSESCU CALLED THIS ATTITUDE A PRODUCT OF THE COLD WAR, ADDING THAT WHILE ROMANIA COULD ONLY SPEAK FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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ITSELF, IT DID NOT FEEL LIKE ANYONE'S SATELLITE. ROMANIA, OF COURSE, HAD GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, BUT IT ALSO HAD GOOD RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, MANY OF THEM NON-SOCIALIST LIKE THE U.S. CONCLUDING, HE URGED THAT OUTER SPACE TERMINOLOGY NOT BE APPLIED TO PRESENT DAY REALITIES.

13. MR FOLEY STATED THAT THE CONGRESS APPRECIATED THE MANY INDEPENDENT POSITIONS THAT ROMANIA HAS TAKEN, BUT SAID THAT THE U.S. FEELS ITS PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY NOW LAY IN ASSISTING THE TRULY POOR AREAS OF THE WORLD. AID AND ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO THE MOST NEEDY. NEVERTHELESS, HE DID NOT WISH TO DISCOURAGE ROMANIA FROM SEEKING THIS KIND OF ASSISTANCE, ALTHOUGH MULTILATERAL CHANNELS MIGHT BE THE BEST SOURCES, I.E. CREDITS FROM THE EXIM BANK.

14. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT ROMANIAN WAS AWARE OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF DEALING WITH THE MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS, BUT WAS THINKING MORE OF COOPERATION IN A FIELD SUCH AS FLOOD CONTROL, FOR WHICH EXIM CREDITS ARE NOT AVAILABLE. HE EXPLAINED THAT BETTER FLOOD CONTROL MEASURES WOULD ENSURE THAT ROMANIA WOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO HELP MEET THE FOOD NEEDS OF THE WORLD. CEAUSESCU NOTED THAT HE HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF CREDITS BECAUSE HE KNEW CONGRESS HAD A POWERFUL VOICE IN SUCH MATTERS AND BECAUSE HE ALSO WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER IF U.S. ADMINISTRATION WERE IN FAVOR OF SUCH ASSISTANCE TO ROMANIA CONGRESS WOULD NOT OPPOSE IT.

15. CSCE AND BASKET III. MR. BRADENAS RECALLED THAT DURING THE CSCE NEGOTIATION THE EASTERN STATES SEEMED MOST INTERESTED IN OBTAINING RECOGNITION OF FIRM BOUNDARY DETERMINATIONS, WHILE THE WEST HAD CONCENTRATED ON THE HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS CONTAINED IN BASKET III. HE ASKED CEAUSESCU WHAT IMPLICATIONS FOR ROMANIA MIGHT ARISE FROM THESE BASKET III CONSIDERATIONS.

16. CEAUSESCU REPLIED THAT, IN THE FIRST PLACE, ROMANIA HAD BEEN MOST INTERESTED IN ENSURING THE RIGHT OF INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY FOR ALL STATES IN EUROPE. ROMANIA HAD ALSO WANTED CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBM) WHICH WOULD UNCLASSIFIED

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MAKE MILITARY AGRESSION IN EUROPE IMPOSSIBLE. CEAUSESCU FELT THAT THE SUCCESS OF CSCE WOULD DEPEND UPON HOW STATES NOW OBSERVED THE FINAL ACT. REGARDING BASKET III, HE FELT THESE MATTERS TO BE INTIMATELY LINKED TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY FOR EACH STATE. IT IS BY ENSURING THE LATTER PROVISIONS THAT REAL HUMANITARIAN GURARATEES ARE ESTABLISHED. ONLY THROUGH INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY CAN ART AND CULTURE DEVELOP WITHIN EACH NATION, AND ONLY WHEN THIS IS GUARANTEED CAN WE DISCUSS AND SOLVE OTPZR PROBLEMS SUCH AS EXCHANGES, MARRIAGES, ETC. UNFORTUNATELY AT HELSINKI MANY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS WERE NTO THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED AND TOO MUCH ATTENTION WAS FOCUSED ON COLLATERAL ISSUES, WHEN ONLY THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS ARE MEANINGFUL.

17. HUNGARIAN MINORITY. MR. BURTON ASKED THAT WHILE THIS MIGHT NOT BE THE TIME OR PLACE TO DISCUSS THE SITUATION OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA, HE WOULD APPRECIATEIT IF THE PRESIDENT WOULD APPOINT SOMEONE WITH WHOM THE PROBLEM COULD BE DISCUSSED.

18. CEAUSESCU NOTED UGLAR'S PRESENCE AS A ROMANIAN OF HUNGARIAN DESCENT AT THE MEETING, AND INDICATED THAT EITHER HE OR GIOSAN, WHO WAS BORN IN TRANSYLVANIA, COULD DISCUSS THE QUESTION WITH BURTON. CEAUSESCU COMMENTED THAT THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES HAS IN EFFECT BEEN RESOLVED IN A DEOMCRATIC AND HUMANITARIAN MANNER IF ALL FIELDS SUCH AS LANGUAGE, EDUCATION, PRESS AND LITERATURE. (COMMENT: AUGUST 18 MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES BURTON AND FENWICK WITH UGLAR REPORTED SEPTTEL.)

19. ERDA ASSISTANCE. MR. YATES SAID THAT HE WISHED TO INFORM THE GROUP THAT ROMANIA WAS WORKING WITH THE ENERTH RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION (ERDA) FOR \$40 MILLION CONTRACT IN THE ENERGY FIELD. (COMMENT: URSU TOLD AMBASSADOR SUBSEQUENTLY THAT HE HAD BEEN TELLING MR. YATES ABOUT NCST'S HOPES FOR EVENTUAL COLLABORATION WITH ERDA BUT THAT NO CONTRACT WAS IN THE WORKS.)

20. CEAUSESCU ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ROMANIA HAD MANY TIES WITH U.S. NOTED THE HOPE THAT TRADE WILL SOON REACH THE UNCLASSIFIED

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\$1 BILLION FIGURE. HE SIAD THAT HE HAD ONLY TOUCHED ON THE QUESTION OF CONCESSIONAL CREDITS, HOWEVER, BECAUSE THIS

WASDIRECTLY WITHIN THE DOMAIN OF CONGRESS.

21. MIDDLE EAST. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT ROMANIA WAS DIRECTLY INTERESTED IN A SPEEDY MIDDLE EAST SOLUTION SINCE THE AREA WAS CLOSE AND SINCE ROMANIA HAD RELATIONS WITH BOTH THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THE U.S. EFFORT IN THIS RESPECT, NOTING THAT ROMANIA WAS ALSO CONVERSANT WITH BOTH SIDES AND THEREFORE ALSO WELL ACQUAINTED WITH THE SITUATION. HE URGED MORE FIRM ACTION, AND PARTICULARLY MORE REALISM ON THE PART OF ISRAEL. A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM WAS ALSO NECESSARY. CEAUSESCU SAID THAT THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL CANNOT BE MAINTAINED BY OCCUPATION AND THAT ISRAEL MUST THEREFORE WITHDRAW FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IT MUST ALSO ACCEPT THE NECESSITY OF A PALESTINIAN STATE LOCATED ON THE JORDANIAN WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STR Q. CONCLUDING, HE URGED THE U.S. CONGRESS TO BECOME MORE INVOLVED WITH TY PROBLEM BY INITIATING DISCUSSIONS WITH THEIR PARLIAMENTARY COUNTERPARTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AS WELL AS IN EUROPE. BARNES

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